

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 SAM-01 ACDA-19 OIC-04

OMB-01 CU-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 DRC-01 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 CIEP-03 COME-00

STR-08 EB-11 /168 W

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O R 271125Z JUL 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7430

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 182

XMT ANKARA

XMT ATHENS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SAACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L S ECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4852

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, EGEN

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-JULY 22-26

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1. SUMMARY. IN A FINAL FLURRY OF ACTIVITY BEFORING RECESSING

FOR FIVE WEEKS ON JULY 26, THE CONFERENCE AGREED ON THE NEUTRAL PACKAGE DEAL FOR THE BASKET III PREAMBLE, THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, A CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE ON EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MILITARY MANEUVERS, A RESOLUTION ON SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES, AND CAME CLOSE TO APPROVING A KEY TEXT ON ACCESS TO PRINTED INFORMATION. END SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL SITUATION--THE NEUTRAL PACKAGE DEAL FOR RESOLUTION OF THE BASKET III PREAMBLE PROBLEM WAS AGREED AFTER A SERIES OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL MEETINGS, WHEN THE SOVIETS DROPPED THEIR INSISTANCE ON A RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSION WHICH DIFFERED FROM THE OTHER VERSIONS AND WAS MORE FAVORABLE TO THEIR VIEWS. THE PACKAGE DEAL PROVIDES AGREED TEXTS FOR THE BASKET III PREAMBLE AND THE PRINCIPLES OF SOVERIGN EQUALITY AND FULFILLMENT OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. THESE TEXTS WILL BE REGISTERED AFTER MOST BASKET III SPECIFICS, AS WELL AS THE FULL LIST OF PRINCIPLES, HAVE BEEN DRAFTED. UNDER THIS ARRANGEMENT THE BASKET III PREAMBLE WILL STATE THAT BASKET III COOPERATION SHOULD TAKE PLACE "IN FULL RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLES." THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVERIGN EQUALITY WILL REFER TO EACH STATE'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE ITS "POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SYSTEMS, AS WELL AS ITS RIGHTS TO DETERMINE ITS LAWS AND REGULATIONS," AND THE PRINCIPLE OF FULFILLMENT OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS WILL STATE THAT IN EXERCISING THIS RIGHT, STATES WILL "CONFORM WITH THEIR LEGAL OBLIGATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW" AND WILL "PAY DUE REGARD TO AND IMPLEMENT" THE PROVISIONS OF CSCE.

3. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE BOGGED DOWN THIS WEEK IN A SERIES OF PROPOSALS FOR THE ELABORATION OF CERTAIN HUMAN RIGHTS, AND WAS UNABLE TO COMPLETE AND REGISTER THE PRINCIPLE. HOWEVER, AT FRIDAY MEETING, AFTER CONCLUSION OF PACKAGE DEAL FOR BASKET III PREAMBLE, SUBCOMMITTEE REGISTERED THE SIXTH PRINCIPLE ON NON-INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. USDEL TABLED REVISED LANGUAGE ON PEACEFUL CHANGES OF FRONTIERS FOR INCLUSION IN THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVERIGN EQUALITY, AND EXPRESSED INTEREST IN DISCUSSING AT APPROPRIATE TIME

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PARAGRAPH 11 OF THE FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES DEALING WITH THE EQUAL VALUE OF THE PRINCIPLES. ROMANIAN DEL EXPRESSED SOME MISGIVINGS ABOUT LOCATING PEACEFUL CHANGE FORMULATION IN SOVEREIGN EQUALITY PRINCIPLE. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION FAILED TO REACH AGREEMENT ON ANY FURTHER PROVISIONS OF ROMANIAN OR SWISS PROPOSALS.

4. MILITARY SECURITY--SUBCOMMITTEE ON MILITARY

SECURITY DEVOTED ITS TIME LARGELY TO CLEANING UP TEXTS WHICH AGREEMENT APPEARED MOST LIKELY. THIS INVOLVED NUMEROUS CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS TO DETERMINE WHERE POSITIONS WERE FLEXIBLE AND TO ARRANGE TRADE-OFFS. MAIN ACHIEVEMENT WAS CONSENSUS ON TEXT ON EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MILITARY MANEUVERS. FINAL PARAGRAPH ON DISARMAMENT WAS ALSO AGREED, ALTHOUGH GENERAL FRENCH RESERVE ON THE ENTIRE SECTION REMAINS. NEITHER OF THESE TEXTS WAS REGISTERED, BUT THIS DID NOT COMPLETE THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S SECOND READING OF ALL TEXTS ON MILITARY SECURITY. PACE OF NATO CAUCUS WORK WAS INTENSIVE AS ALLIED DELEGATIONS DISCUSSED PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS, US "ESSENTIALS" PAPER, AND WORK TO BE ACCOMPLISHED DURING SUMMER RECESS. ON MOVEMENTS QUESTION UK DEVELOPED A TEXT WHICH MOST NATO DELEGATIONS CONSIDERED AS A MAXIMUM STEP TOWARD COMPROMISE WITH US INSISTANCE THAT MOVEMENTS BE DROPPED.

5. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY--FULL COMMITTEE AND SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES DEVOTED THEIR FINAL MEETINGS BEFORE RECESS TO A STOCK-TAKING EXERCISE, BUT WITHOUT ACHIEVING PROGRESS ON ANY ISSUES. OTHER SUBCOMMITTEES DID NOT MEET.

6. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--FULL COMMITTEE REMAINED DORMANT PENDING AGREEMENT ON NEUTRAL PACKAGE DEAL. DESPITE LAST MINUTE EFFORTS, THE HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE DID NOT COMPLETE ITS PAPER ON REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES. AFTER FOUR MONTHS AND CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS THE SOVIETS STOPPED ALL FURTHER DISCUSSIONS BY PROPOSING A PHRASE MAKING ALL PROVISIONS OF THE TEXT SUBJECT TO "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS," IN A CONTEXT THAT WOULD RENDER THE TEXT VALID ONLY WHEN THIS CONDITIONS MIGHT BE WORKED OUT, PRESUMABLY BILATERALLY. THEY MADE ACCEPTANCE OF THIS PHRASE A PRE-CONFIDENTIAL

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CONDITION TO CONTINUED DRAFTING. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS HOLD TO THE VIEW THAT THIS APPROACH WAS REJECTED AND SETTLED AFTER A LONG DISCUSSION IN HELSINKI. THE FINAL SUBCOMMITTEE SESSION ON THE AFTERNOON BEFORE THE RECESS MADE LITTLE PROGRESS, BUT THE SOVIETS AT LEAST PERMITTED DISCUSSION OF OTHER ELEMENTS, AND MADE ACCEPTANCE OF THEIR PHRASE A PRECONDITION ONLY TO REGISTRATION OF THE TEXT. THE INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE CAME CLOSE TO AGREEING ON ITS TEXT ON ACCESS TO PRINTED INFORMATION IN A LATE EVENING SESSION ON THE LAST DAY BEFORE THE RECESS, WHEN THE SOVIETS ACCEPTED THE PHRASE "ACCESS BY THE PUBLIC" TO COVER THE QUESTION OF WHO SHALL HAVE ACCESS. HOWEVER, IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO AGREE ON AN ACCEPTABLE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE TRANSLATION OF THIS PHRASE, AND THIS POINT WILL BE PURSUED IN SEPTEMBER. IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE,

LAST-MINUTE EFFORTS TO BREAK LONG-STANDING DEADLOCK ON
ISSUE OF ACCESS TO BOOKS FOUNDERED AS MINIMAL SOVIET CON-
CESSIONS FELL FAR SHORT OF EC-NINE REQUIREMENTS. SUB-
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED ITS TEXT
ON COOPERATION IN FIELD OF SCIENCE, INCLUDING PROVISION
FOR DIRECTING CONTACTS AMONG SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS AND
SCIENTISTS AND FRG-SPONSORED SCIENTIFIC FORUM.

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XMT AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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USLO SAACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

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7. MEDITERRANEAN--WORKING GROUP ON THE MEDITERRANEAN MARKED TIME, IN VIEW OF THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS. NEVERTHE- LESS, SEVERAL DELEGATIONS--ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA, USSR, SPAIN, GREECE, TURKEY, AND CYPRUS ITSELF--FELT OBLIGED CONFIDENTIAL

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TO MAKE GENERAL STATEMENTS IN COMMITTEE I (SECURITY) OF THEIR NATIONAL VIEW ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. CEASEFIRE HAD ALREADY BEEN ANNOUNCED WHEN THIS OCCURRED, AND STATE- MENTS WERE THUS MODERATE ENOUGH TO ALLOW THIS INCIDENT TO BE CLOSED WITHOUT UNDUE DIFFICULTY.

8. COMMENT: THIS WEEK'S ACTIVITY WAS FAR FROM A BREAK- THROUGH, ESPECIALLY COMING AFTER MANY WEEKS OF RELATIVE INERTIA, BUT CERTAINLY CONSTITUTED THE FIRST PROMISING MOVEMENT IN CSCE FOR SOME TIME. SETTLEMENT OF THE BASKET III PREAMBLE PROBLEM SHOULD CLEAR AWAY A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS ON CONCRETE FREER MOVEMENTS PROVI- SIONS, AND COULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE SOVIETS TO COME TO AGREEMENT ON THESE SUBJECTS WHEN NEGOTIATIONS RESUME IN SEPTEMBER. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN INDICATIONS THAT THEY WILL TRY TO INCLUDE FUNDA- MENTALLY RESTRICTIVE LANGUAGE IN THE SPECIFIC TEXTS OF BASKET III, TO MAKE UP FOR THE REFERENCE TO RESPECT FOR NATIONAL LAWS AND CUSTOMS WHICH HAS NOW BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE PREAMBLE. ONE EXAMPLE OF THIS TACTIC HAS BEEN THE SOVIET PROPOSAL THAT CSCE PROVISIONS FOR FAMILY REUNIFICA- TION SHOULD TAKE PLACE "UNDER MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS." A PHRASE WHICH CLEARLY SUGGESTS THAT FURTHER BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WOULD BE REQUIRED TO GIVE VALIDITY TO CSCE TEXTS. WESTERN DELEGATIONS CANNOT ACCEPT INTRODUCTION OF SUCH A PHRASE. THEIR VIEW IS THAT THE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDI- TIONS SHOULD BE WORKED OUT HERE AND NOW.

9. THE SUMMER RECESS WILL PROVIDE TIME FOR REFLECTION ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE CONFERENCE, AND CONSULATIONS ON THE FURTHER COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS. THERE IS SOME HOPE THAT THE PAUSE WILL REFRESH CSCE DELEGATES WHO, MORE THAN ANY- THING ELSE, ARE WEARY AFTER TEN MONTHS AVERAGING 40 FRUSTRATING NEGOTIATING SESSIONS PER WEEK. BUT THE BREAK WILL ALSO MEAN STARTING OVER AGAIN, WITH A GOOD MANY NEW FACES, AND THIS FACTOR WILL UNDOUBTLY CAUSE SOME DELAYS. IF THE SOVIETS CONTINUE THEIR RIGID OBSTINACY AND THEIR PRIMITIVE NEGOTIATING

TACTICS THE PACE OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BE NO FASTER IN THE AUTUMN THAN IT HAS BEEN UP TO NOW. IN THIS SITUATION THE MOST POSITIVE ELEMENT IS THAT MOST DELEGATES ARE NOW

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CLEARLY HOPING TO CONCLUDE STAGE II BEFORE THE END OF THE
YEAR. THIS MAY SEEM LIKE A RATHER LEISURELY SCHEDULE TO
SOME OF YOU OUT THERE, BUT THOSE OF US WHO ARE IN IT ARE WELL
AWARE THAT, UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE WILL NEED EVERY
BIT OF THIS TIME TO FIND OUR WAY THROUGH THE COMPLEX AND
INTERRELATED PROBLEMS OF CSCE. END COMMENT.
ABRAMS

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